1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (γίκι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 ● 261 [431] Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44.
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 612 273 579 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 612 605 [252] Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. [264] When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. [261] After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 612 562 [603] [252] The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

583 /137 cont./
585 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
602 In impeccable fashion and bright
533 As the sun and the moon...
539 You must prostrate yourself,
562 You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her
[516] physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

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775 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
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823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

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Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

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The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

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The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which

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means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).

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As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the

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way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

/382 cont./
in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among women).

Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism. Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions; that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand, morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition, family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.